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LETTER VI.

TO THE EARL OF LIVERPOOL,
ON THE AMERICAN WAR.

MY LORD,—It has all along been my wish to see England at peace with America. My reasons for this I have often explained; and the mode I have pursued has been this; to endeavour to prove, that the grounds of hope of success, held out to us by such writers as the WALTERS, are fallacious. The *Division of the States*, the *Impeachment of Mr. Madison*, the *Resistance of Taxation*, and the various other grounds of hope, I have endeavoured to shew were hollow, as much as was the expectation of sweeping the ocean of the "half a dozen of fir frigates, with bits of "striped bunting at their mast heads."—The task of counteracting these delusive hopes has increased in arduousness with the progress of the war. Beaten out of one hope, these writers have resorted to others; and, as was the case in the last American war, pride and shame and revenge are mustered up to prolong a war which policy has abandoned.

There is now a new delusion on foot.—Mr. Walter, the proprietor of the *Times* newspaper, who (shocking to think of!) has been a principal actor in producing this calamitous war, is now endeavouring to persuade the public, that the President of America *will be unable* to raise the force voted by Congress, to complete the regular army of that great Republic to 100,000 men, by way of *ballot*, or what Mr. Walter calls **CONSCRIPTION**. To be sure, this is a measure very well calculated to astound such a man as Mr. Walter, who *knows* nothing at all about the people of America; who receives all his information through the very worst of all possible channels; who appears to be extremely ignorant himself; who publishes purely for gain; who desires to flatter the follies and prejudices of his readers; and who, finding himself the gainer by being the avowed enemy of freedom, in every part of the world, has become, to say no-

thing of his breeding up, a mortal foe of the American Government and people. Such a man, who had been led to suppose, that the defence of a country, like America, was inconsistent with freedom, naturally relied upon the overthrow of the Government, the moment it attempted to raise an army to resist its invaders; such a man would naturally be, as he *has* been, almost smothered in the foam of his own malignity, upon seeing a measure like this coolly proposed by Mr. Monroe (now Secretary at War), attentively considered by a Committee of Congress, and smoothly passing into a law, made, or to be made, by the *real* and not the *sham* Representatives of a free people, elected by that people only a few months before, and knowing that they are again to be elected or rejected by that same people a few months afterwards.—This has astounded Mr. Walter. It has, apparently, given his brain a shock too rude for its powers of resistance. It has upset all his calculations; and he is now crying out for a rebellion in America as fiercely as he ever cried out for bullets, bayonets, halts and gibbets for the rebels in Ireland; but, never losing sight of his old object, namely, to delude this nation into the hope that the *measure must fail*, and that, therefore, we ought to *continue the war*.

Despicable, therefore, as this writer may be; contemptible as is his stock of understanding; mean and malignant as may be his motives, his efforts merit attention, and call upon us to counteract them without loss of time. In doing this I must first take the best account that I can find of this grand measure of the American Government, to which has been given the name of *Conscription*. The following is the report of the Bill, as republished by Mr. Walter himself:—

"An Act to provide for filling the Ranks
"of the Regular Army, by classifying
"the free White Male Population of the
"United States.
"Sec. 1. All the white male inhabitants
"between 18 and 45 to be classed—classes

" of 25 in each, in every Township, Parish,
 " or other Territorial Division, are to be
 " made under the authority of the United
 " States' Assessors : where there are no
 " Assessors, under Marshals. Assessors
 " and Marshals bound under penalty to
 " complete the classification in a given
 " time.

" Sec. 2. Each class shall furnish one
 " able-bodied man between 18 and 45, to
 " serve during the war—to be delivered
 " over to the Assessor or Marshals, and by
 " them to be delivered over to the United
 " States' Officers authorized to receive
 " him.

" Sec. 3. Marshals and Assessors are to
 " determine the precincts of territorial di-
 " visions of each class, so that the property
 " in each division shall be as nearly equal
 " as possible—and give notice to each re-
 " sident in the district of the number of
 " the precinct to which he belongs, &c.

" Sec. 4. In case of failure, each class
 " to pay a penalty, which, if not paid in
 " days, shall be collected of the taxable
 " inhabitants of the district, in proportion
 " to property real and personal, to be de-
 " cided by the Tax List, or any other just
 " and equitable standard by which the ac-
 " tual wealth of the party may be ascer-
 " tained.

" Sec. 5. Marshals and Assessors to act
 " under the direction of the President of
 " the United States. The penalties for-
 " feited by each class shall be collected by
 " the Collector of Direct Taxes and inter-
 " nal duties, in the same manner as Direct
 " Tax is collected.

" Sect. 6. Any person aggrieved by
 " excessive valuations may appeal in the
 " same manner as is directed in the Act
 " for assessing Direct Taxes.

" Sec. 7 and 8. Relate to the paying
 " over of the fines and penalties by Mar-
 " shals and Collectors to the Treas-
 " ury, &c.

" Sec. 9. Money accruing by penalties
 " to be employed by the Secretary of War
 " to recruit the army.

" Sec. 10. Provides to pay Marshals,
 " &c. for services.

" Sec. 11, 12, 13, 14. Subordinate re-
 " gulations.

" Sec. 15. Provides that any five white
 " male inhabitants of the United States,
 " being liable to military duty, who shall
 " ~~Discontinue~~ soldier, between 18 and 45,
 " shall be exempt from
 " ~~the war.~~

" Sec. 16. Unimportant details."

Such is the measure, which Mr. Walter assures us cannot be *carried into effect*; but says, that *if it could be carried into effect*, would deprive us of Canada in a year, unless we sent out our "great Na-
 " tional Hero;" and, indeed, that, under the bare possibility of such a measure's succeeding, "we ought to cast aside all
 " *European politics*." What a change, my Lord! This foolish gentleman used to tell us, that the Americans would be "*re-duced*," as the old phrase was, in "*a few weeks*." He has often exhausted all his powers of speech to convince his readers, that this enemy was too *despicable* to be treated with in the same sort of way that we treat with other nations. There is no expression of contempt, contained in our copious language, which he did not use towards America and her President. And this same foolish Mr. Walter now tells us, that so great is this same America, that, in order to be able to meet her with a chance of success, we ought "*to cast aside all European politics*."

I beg your Lordship, now, to have the patience to read Mr. Walter's remarks, at full length, upon this measure of defence in America. The article is of consequence; because, though coming from such a source, though proceeding from a son, or sons, of OLD WALTER of Regency memory, it is what will *give the cue* to almost all the rich people in the metropolis, and to not a few of those in the country. After inserting this article, I will endeavour to shew its folly and its malice; and, were the author any other than a Walter, I should not be afraid to promise to make him hide his head for shame.

"No certain or official account of the rupture of the negotiations at Ghent has yet reached this country. Private letters, it is true, have been received, stating that the American Commissioner, Mr. Adams, was about to set off for St. Petersburg, and that Mr. Gallatin had proposed that a single individual on each side should be left at Ghent to take advantage of any opening for renewing the negotiation; but both these statements are at variance with those contained in other letters of the latest date from Ghent, received by the French mail of yesterday, according to which the diplomatic intercourse still continued. We repeat, that we do not think this the point to which the public attention



"ought to be directed. We should look
 "not to the fallacious terms of an artful
 "negociation; but to the infallible evi-
 "dence of our enemy's mind and inten-
 "tions displayed in his conduct. The Bill
 "for a *Conscription* of the whole American
 "population is a measure that cannot be
 "mistaken. Whilst such a Bill is in pro-
 "gress, and before it is known whether
 "the people will submit to its being car-
 "ried into execution, it would be *madness*
 "to expect a peace. It would be madness
 "to expect a peace with persons who have
 "made up their minds to propose *so despe-*
 "*rate* a measure to their countrymen: for
 "either they must succeed, and then the
 "intoxication of their pride will render
 "them utterly intractable; or (which
 "is, indeed, more probable), they must
 "fail, and their failure must precipitate
 "them from power, and consequently ren-
 "der treating with them impossible.—
 "When an *American* gentleman of *splen-*
 "*did attainments*, some years since, com-
 "posed his celebrated review of the Con-
 "scription Code of that monster Bona-
 "parte, he could not possibly foresee that
 "his own country would, in so short a
 "time, be subjected to the same *barbarous*
 "*humiliation*. The prime and flower of
 "the American citizens are to be taken by
 "lot! and delivered over to the Marshals,
 "who are to deliver them over to the of-
 "ficers authorised to receive them, who
 "are to act at the discretion and under
 "the arbitrary direction of the President.
 "Thus does Mr. Madison, from a simple
 "Republican Magistrate, suddenly start
 "up a *military Despot* of the most *san-*
 "*guinary character*—a double of the
 "*blood-thirsty* wretch at Elba. We are
 "convinced that this sudden and violent
 "*shock to all Republican feelings*, to all
 "the habits of the people in all parts of
 "the Union, *cannot be made with impu-*
 "*nity*. Certain it is, that this law can-
 "not stand alone. To give it the least
 "chance of being put in execution, it
 "must be accompanied with all the other
 "chapters of that bloody code by which
 "France was disgraced, and barbarised,
 "and demoralised. Who is to hunt down
 "the refractory conscripts? Who is to
 "drag them, chained together in rows, to
 "the head-quarters of the military divi-
 "sion? Who is to punish them, their pa-
 "rents, relations, and friends? Even Bo-
 "naparte was many years in bringing to
 "its diabolical perfection the machinery of

"his system: and carefully as Mr. Mon-
 "roe may have studied in that accursed
 "school, it cannot be supposed that he has
 "at one flight placed himself on a level
 "with his great instructor. It is highly
 "probable, that many of the men who have
 "laboured in the details of oppression and
 "violence under the Disturber of Europe,
 "may have by this time made their way
 "to America, where they will doubtless
 "receive a cordial welcome from Mr.
 "Madison, and be set to work to *rivet the*
 "*collar on the necks of the American citi-*
 "*zens*; but we own that, 'with all appli-
 "ances and means to boot,' the Presi-
 "dent, in our opinion, must fail. Never-
 "theless it would be most dangerous to
 "suffer such an opinion to produce the
 "slightest relaxation in our efforts. The
 "British Government should act as if it
 "saw Mr. Monroe at the head of his hun-
 "dred thousand regulars, well disciplined,
 "and equipped, carrying the war, as he
 "distinctly threatens he will do, into the
 "very heart of Canada. Late as it is, we
 "must awake. Eight months ago the
 "Duke of Wellington with his army might
 "have fallen like a thunderbolt upon the
 "Washington Cabinet, leaving them no
 "time for conscriptions, no means of col-
 "lecting French officers to discipline their
 "troops, no opportunity to intrigue for
 "friendship and support among the Con-
 "tinental Powers of Europe. It is not
 "yet too late for striking a decisive blow;
 "but that blow must be struck with all
 "our heart and with all our strength.
 "Let us but conceive the proposed hun-
 "dred thousand regulars embodied in the
 "course of the ensuing spring. Does any one
 "believe that, without a mighty effort on
 "our part, the Canadas could be re-
 "tained another year? Would not the ex-
 "ultation of seeing himself at the head of
 "such a force urge Mr. Madison, at all
 "hazards, to complete his often-tried in-
 "vasion? Even if his scheme should but
 "partially succeed, and he should be only
 "able to drag on a defensive war for
 "another twelvemonth, who knows what
 "Allies that period may stir up for him,
 "under the false pretences of regard for
 "neutral rights, and for the liberty of the
 "seas? On our side, to conclude a peace
 "at the present moment would be to con-
 "fess ourselves intimidated by the warlike
 "preparations of the enemy. It seems,
 "therefore, that we have but one path to
 "follow. Whatever was the force des-

"tined to act against America before this
 "DARING BILL of Mr. Monroe's was
 "thought of, *let that force instantly be*
 "*doubled; let us cast aside all European*
 "*politics that cross this great and para-*
 "*mount object of our exertions.* Let a
 "General of commanding name be at once
 "dispatched to the seat of war. We
 "have often said, and we repeat it, that
 "America is a scene on which the Duke
 "of Wellington's talents might be dis-
 "played far more beneficially to his coun-
 "try, than they can possibly be in the
 "courtly circles of the Tuilleries: but if
 "his Grace must necessarily be confined
 "to the dull round of diplomatic business,
 "at least let some officer be sent, whom
 "the general voice of the army may de-
 "signate as most like in skill and enter-
 "prise to our great National Hero. Fatal
 "experience has shewn us, that no effort
 "of such an enemy is to be overlooked.
 "When the flag of the *Guerriere* was
 "struck, we saw in it that disastrous omen
 "which has since been but too sadly veri-
 "fied on the Ocean and on the Lakes.
 "The triumphs of the American navy
 "have inspired even their privateers with
 "remarkable *audacity*. The present
 "papers mention the cruises of the *Pea-*
 "*cock*, the *Chasseur*, and the *Mammoth*,
 "all of which were very successful, and all
 "ventured *on the coasts of England and*
 "*Ireland*. The two latter, being Ameri-
 "can built, outsailed every thing that
 "gave them chase. This is a circum-
 "stance requiring *strict attention on the*
 "*part of our Admiralty*. Surely there
 "must be some discoverable and *imitable*
 "*cause* of a celerity in sailing, which is so
 "important a point of naval tactics. Mr.
 "Fulton, of Catamaran memory, appears
 "to have employed himself on a naval ma-
 "chine of singular powers. It is described
 "as a Steam Frigate, and is intended to
 "carry red hot shot of one hundred pounds
 "weight. When we remember how con-
 "trary to expectation was the tremen-
 "dous effect of the batteries of the Dar-
 "danelles, we cannot entirely dismiss from
 "our minds all apprehension of the effect
 "of this new machine of Mr. Fulton's."
 "Before I proceed to inquire into the
 "justice of these charges against Mr.
 "Monroe's Bill, I cannot refrain from no-
 "ticing, in a particular manner, one phrase
 "of this article. Mr. Walter (for, here
 "whom he will to write for him, *he* is the
 "*author*) calls the Bill "this DARING

"Bill of Mr. Monroe's." Mr. Walter is
 no grammarian, my Lord; nor is it neces-
 sary that he should, to qualify him for ad-
 dressing such people as the well-attired
 rabble of England, who are his readers. But
 this is not the thing that I have in view:
 I want your Lordship to mark the word
 "DARING," as applied to this Bill; as
 if it were a thing which the Republic ought
 not to think of without *our permission*; as
 if it were like the act of a servant taking
 up a sword and *challenging his master*;
 as if it were a trait of *insolence unbearable*
 in a nation at war with Big John Bull to
 take effectual means to resist his attacks
 on their shores: as if it were *audacious* in
 them to provide the means of preventing
 their cities, and towns, and villages, from
 being plundered or burnt. This Mr.
 Walter, only a few days ago, called Mr.
 Jefferson "*liar and slave*." He has a
 hundred times called Mr. Madison a *mis-*
 "*creant*, a *traitor*, a *liar*, a *villain*; and has,
 as often, insisted, that no peace ought ever
 to be made with him. He has frequently
 insisted, that Mr. Madison and his *faction*
 (the majority of Congress) must be *hurled*
 "*from their seats*. He has called Mr.
 Jefferson the *old serpent*. In short, it is
 next to impossible to think of any vile
 term or epithet, which this author has not
 applied to the American President and the
 majority of that Congress, which is the
 real representation of the American people.
 And yet he has the cool impudence to
 speak of this Bill, this measure of *defence*,
 as if it were something *insolent towards us*.

The truth is, my Lord, we have so long
 had to deal with East Indians and Portu-
 guese, and Spaniards and Italians, and Ger-
 mans and Dutchmen and Russians, and Im-
 perialist Frenchmen, that we are quite spoil-
 ed for a dealing with the Americans. We
 have, at last, arrived at such a pitch, that
 we regard it as *insolence* in any people
 even to *talk* of resisting us. Mr. Walter is,
 in this respect, but the mouth-piece of his
 readers. We must correct ourselves as to
 this way of thinking and talking, if the
 war with America continue; or we shall
 be exposed to the derision of the whole
 world.

Now, then, as to Mr. Monroe's mea-
 sure. Mr. Walter describes it as a *Con-*
 "*scription*; says, that it will subject the
 people to *barbarous humiliation*; says,
 that it makes the President a *military*
 "*despot* of the most *sanguinary* character;
 asks, who is to *chain* the conscripts and

drag them to the head-quarters of the military division; calls the raising of this force putting *a collar on the necks of the American citizens.*

These are the charges which Mr. Walter prefers against this grand measure of the Republic, and he observes, that "when an American gentleman of splendid attainments, some years ago, composed his celebrated review of the *Conscription Code* of that monster Bonaparte, he could not possibly foresee, that his own country would so soon be subjected to the same barbarous humiliation." This "gentleman of splendid attainments" was a Mr. Walsh, of Philadelphia, who, having been in France, came over to England, where, under the patronage of the friends of bribery and corruption, he wrote and published a pamphlet, calculated to aid their views. This pamphlet clearly shewed, that the author was one of those Americans, who, by the vain splendour that they here behold, and by the hope of sharing in it, have been induced to apostatise from the principles of their own Republican Government. This young man, whose work was really a very poor performance, abounding with inconsistencies, and, indeed, with downright falsehoods, had his head turned by the flatteries of the hireling writers and reviewers here; and I should not wonder if his work acquired him the unspeakable felicity of hearing, that *even his name was mentioned* in a conversation between two Lords. The great recommendation of the work was, that it was *not* the work of an Englishman. No: it was, it was said, the work of an American, who, of course, was a friend of the French, and not at all disposed to exaggerate in describing their misery. This was the fraudulent colour under which the work got into circulation. Mr. Walsh was a tool in the hands of crafty men, who dazzled him with praises, and, perhaps, did not neglect the use of still more efficacious means.

But now as to the *resemblance* between Mr. Monroe's measure and the Conscription of Napoleon:—

1st. The French Conscription was decreed by an arbitrary despot, assisted by an Assembly whom the people had not chosen. The levy in America is ordered by a law, passed by the Congress, who are the *real* and not the *sham* representatives of the people; who have recently been freely chosen by the people; and who, if they desire to be re-elected, must act so as to

please the people, the time of their re-election being near at hand.

2d. The French conscript was called out to fight for the support and aggrandizement of a particular family, and for the support also of nobles in the possession of their titles and estates. It was the honour of the Crown that the Frenchman was called on to fight for, and that, too, in distant lands.—The American citizen is called out to defend no Sovereign family, no Crown, no nobles, to give no security and to gain no renown for them, or any of them; but to fight for the safety, liberty, and honour of a country, where there are no distinctions of rank, and where, of course, every individual fights, when he does fight, in his own cause as much as in the cause of the President himself.

3d. The French Conscription compelled personal service.—The American levy contains no such compulsion. Every twenty-five men, between the ages of 18 and 45, are to furnish one man. If no one of the twenty-five will serve in person, the whole twenty-five together are, according to their property, to pay a certain sum of money.

4th. The French conscript, while he left, perhaps, an aged father or mother at home living in penury, was fighting for an Emperor, whose wife carried about her person, at the nation's expence, decorations, which cost as much as would have fed thousands of families for a year. The American levyman knows, that his Government, all taken together, President, Congress, Judges, Secretaries, Clerks and all, do not cost so much in a year, as is swallowed by an Imperial Family in one single day.

5th. France was not invaded. This is a very material point. America was, and is, invaded. Her villages, towns and cities, have been plundered and burnt. A continuation of this mode of warfare has been distinctly declared by our Admiral to have been resolved on. It is invasion, it is devastation, it is fire, it is the sword, it is plunder, at their very doors, and in their very dwellings on the coast, that the American levy are called forth to repel, to punish or to prevent. It is no possible, no imaginary, no distant danger that has called forth this measure from the Congress: it is actual invasion; it is an enemy in the country, there laying waste, plundering and killing. Lawfully, if you please; but, that is no matter. If Napoleon had landed an army here, he would have been justified in so doing by the laws of war; but, when

we expected him even to make the *attempt* at invasion, did *we* confine ourselves to measures like this of Mr. Monroe? Did we not call upon the *whole* of the people to be ready to come out *under martial law*? But I am here anticipating another part of the subject of my letter.

So much, then, for the *resemblance* between the French Conscription and the American Levy; and, I am sure, that your Lordship will allow, that they no more resemble one another than this REGISTER resembles the *Times* newspaper. What, then, becomes of Mr. Walter's bombastical trash about *sanguinary despots* and *chained conscripts*? Yet, he will find dupes! He has found dupes for many years, and he will continue to find them upon this subject, I fear, 'till we shall see an *American fleet* on the coast of Ireland, an occurrence more probable than, at one time, was thought the capture of an English frigate by a Republican thing with a *bit of striped bunting at its mast head*, as Mr. Canning thought proper to describe the American frigates.

But, my Lord, it is not with the French Conscription alone that I mean to compare the Republican Levy. Let us see (for that will bring the thing home to us) what is the nature of this measure of Mr. Monroe compared with our *Militias*.

We have two or three Militias; but there are two clearly distinguished from each other: One is called *the Militia*, and the other the *Local Militia*. The former consists of men called out by **BALLOT, WITHOUT ANY REGARD TO THE AMOUNT OF THEIR PROPERTY.** Each man, so called on, must serve in person, or must, out of his own pocket, find a man to serve in his stead; and, seeing that the service is, in all respects, except that of being sent over sea, the same as that of regular soldiers; seeing that the man may be marched to any part of the kingdom, may be quartered in camp, in barracks, and is subjected to all military pains and penalties, the price of substitutes has long been so high, that no labourer or journeyman has, out of his own pocket, been able to procure a substitute. Now, you see, there is a wide difference here. For the man of small means in America has twenty-four others to assist him in paying the money necessary to engage a substitute. Twenty-five men are put into a class. If one of them goes to serve, the others are able to make him a handsome

compensation. If none of them choose to serve, the money in lieu of the service of one man is to be collected from twenty-five men. And, which is the beauty of this admirable scheme, when it comes to the payment of money, each person is to pay, not the *same* sum, but a *sum in proportion to the amount of his means*. In England the names of *all* of certain ages, in each parish, are put into a box, out of which the number wanted are drawn. It happens, of course, that, of four, one is a rich merchant, another a farmer, another a journeyman taylor, and another a labourer. Each is to serve in person, or find a substitute. The price of the substitute is as high for the poor as for the rich. The two latter, therefore, who have no property to defend, must serve, or they must rake together the means of paying for the defence of the property of the rich, and thus involve themselves in debt, and expose their families, if they have any, to misery. But, you see, Mr. Monroe's scheme most effectually provides against this. It puts all the male population, between 18 and 45, into classes of twenty-five men. Each class is to send one man. If they agree amongst themselves who shall go, the thing is done. If none of them choose to go, then the twenty-five are to pay a sum of money; but *here* they are not to pay *alike*: the journeyman taylor and the labourer are not to pay like the merchant and the farmer: every man of the twenty-five is to pay *in proportion to his property*; and thus does the burden of defence fall with arithmetical correctness on the thing to be defended.

And *this*, my Lord, is what Mr. Walter calls a "*Conscription*;" this he calls a measure of "*barbarous humiliation*" to the people of America; for proposing this measure he calls Mr. Madison a "*sanguinary despot*;" this is the measure which he says will *never be submitted to* by the Republicans. The foolish man will soon have to announce his astonishment at the complete success of the measure: if he has not, I will acknowledge myself to be as great a fool as he.

But, to proceed, our *Local Militia* were to serve only within their several *counties*; but their service has now been extended; though, except in cases of *urgency*, they are to be called out only a month in the year. Here no man must get the means of hiring a substitute from any *Insurance or Club*. He must make no bargain with his

master to work out the amount of the penalty: He must *swear* that the *ten pounds* comes out of his own present means, or he *must serve in person*. In this case, however, we approach a little nearer to Mr. Monroe's excellent scheme; for, in this militia, we proportion the fine, in some measure, to the property of him who refuses to serve; though a rich farmer still pays only about *twenty pounds*, while the poorest of his labourers must pay *ten pounds*, though certainly the property of the former may be estimated at two or three thousand times greater than the property of the latter. Now, according to Mr. Monroe's scheme a couple of farmers would find themselves classed with twenty-three labourers and journeymen blacksmiths, collar-makers, wheelwrights, &c. &c. And, of course, the two farmers would pay 24-25ths of the penalty; or, which would be the natural result, one man out of the twenty-five, with a handsome reward from the rest, would cheerfully take up the musket instead of the dung-fork, or the sledge-hammer.

But the most important distinction still remains to be noticed: that is to say, that we have, for twenty years, had a Militia on foot, under *martial law*, under officers *commissioned by the King*, under the *regular discipline*, lodged in *camps or barracks*, marched to *every corner of the kingdom*, without any actual *invasion of the country*. These regiments have been kept up, the balloting has been going on, and no invaders have come to burn our villages, towns, and cities; or, to plunder them, or lay them under contribution. While, in America, we are invading and laying waste; we are taking *permanent* possession of one district; we are compelling the people to swear allegiance to our king; we have a mighty naval force continually menacing the sea-coast; we have one army afloat here, another there, more are going out; and this Mr. Walter is calling 'till he is hoarse for more troops to be sent to devastate and divide the country, to overturn the Republican Government and reduce the people to unconditional submission; all this he is doing, while he is, at the same time, crying out against the "barbarous" scheme of calling upon the people of property to defend their country, either in their persons, or with their purses. Aye, my Lord! fool as Mr. Walter is, he perceives, that Mr. Monroe's is an infallible scheme for raising an army in a short time, and for

keeping that army complete. He, fool as he is, smells powder in every line of this scheme. But it is his business to misrepresent, to disfigure, to induce his well-dressed rabble of readers, and you too, if possible, to believe, that the scheme *will fail*, and that, *therefore*, we ought to carry on the war with all imaginable energy. I trust, however, that you are not to be misled by him, or by any body else. I trust, that you will see the danger which this wise and equitable plan presents to us. I trust, that you will at once abandon all hopes of extorting any concession from a country, which has now shewn, that difficulties and dangers, as they press upon her, only tend to increase her energy, to raise her spirit, and make her more formidable. I have respect enough for the understanding of your Lordship to believe, that you have not read Mr. Monroe's letter to the chairman of the Military Committee with great attention, and not without some degree of alarm. But the conclusion of it is so very important, that I cannot refrain from again calling your attention to it.

"I should," says he, "insult the understanding, and wound the feelings of the Committee, if I touched on the calamities incident to defeat. Dangers which are remote, and can never be realised, excite no alarm with a gallant and generous people. But the advantages of success have a fair claim to their deliberate consideration. The effort we have already made has attracted the attention and extorted the praise of other nations. Already have most of the absurd theories and idle speculations on our system of Government been refuted and put down. We are now felt and respected as a power, and it is the dread which the enemy entertain of our resources and growing importance, that has induced him to press the war against us after its professed objects had ceased. Success by discomfiture of his schemes, and the attainment of an honourable peace, will place the United States on higher grounds, in the opinion of the world, than they have held at any former period. In future wars, their commerce will be permitted to take its lawful range unmolested. Their remonstrances to foreign Governments will not again be put aside, unheeded.—Few will be presented, because there will seldom be occasion for them. Our Union, founded on internal affection, will have acquired

"new strength by the proof it will have
 "afforded of the important advantages
 "attending it. Respected abroad, and
 "happy at home, the United States will
 "have accomplished the great objects for
 "which they have so long contended. As
 "a nation that will have little to dread, as
 "a people little to desire."—I beseech
 your Lordship's serious attention to these
 important words. I allow, that peace now
 made on the basis of the *Status Quo* would
 be *success* to America. I have often said
 this before. To *defend* herself against us,
 single handed, will be *most glorious triumph*
 to her, and will elevate her in the
 eyes of all the world. But, then, my
 Lord, to repeat once more what I have
 so often said, what will be the consequence
 of her success at the end of a ten year's,
 or a five year's war? How much greater
 would then be her triumph? How much
 greater her weight in the world? How
 much more proud her defiance of us?
 How much more powerful her navy?
 How much more exasperated her people
 against us?

I confess, that, after all that has been
 said here about Mr. Madison; after all the
 threats of our press to *depose* him; after
 all the "*liars, traitors, hypocrites,*" &c.
 that that press has called him; after all the
 expectations of seeing a *Viceroy* sent out
 to Washington City, it would sink the heart
 of John Bull down into his shoes to see a
 peace made with this same Mr. Madison,
 without extorting *something* from him. But
 you and your colleagues ought to despise
 this national folly, created by the venal
 men, who live by misrepresentation and
 falsehood; whose tables are furnished with
 the fruits of flattering popular prejudices.

I confess, too, that the friends of Cap-
 tain Henry; that the would-be *Noblesse*
of Massachusetts; that the *Federalists* in
 general, would be put down for ever by a
 peace with Mr. Madison, on terms ho-
 nourable to America, made at this time,
 and which peace would clearly have been
 obtained by the wisdom of his measures and
 the bravery of those whom he has em-
 ployed. But hang these scurvy *Noblesse*,
 my Lord! They are poor creatures. They
 cannot assist us. The population of Ame-
 rica is *essentially* Republican, from one end
 to the other. These poor things have
 tried their utmost, and they have failed.
 When I was in America, there was a man,
 named Luther Martin, a lawyer of Mary-

land, who wrote, in my paper, under his
 own name, a series of letters to Mr. Jeffer-
 son. One day, I said to a friend of Mr.
 Martin's, "when do you think he means
 "to *close*; for, really, I am afraid that
 "my readers will soon begin to be as
 "weary as I am." "If," answered he,
 "I knew the state of his *brandy bottle*
 "I could tell you; for he'll stick to
 "Jefferson *as long as brandy will warm*
 "*him, and not a moment longer.*"—
 So it will be, my Lord, with the *Noblesse*
 of Massachusetts. As long as they are
 stimulated with the hope of forcing open the
 offices of Government by the misfortunes
 of their country, they will talk big about a
separation of the Union; but the moment
 that that hope dies within them, you will
 see them as quiet as mice. And, really, I
 do not know of any thing more likely to
 kill that hope than the scheme of Mr. Mon-
 roe, which will not only bring forth an effi-
 cient army *now*, but which will hold an effi-
 cient army *always in readiness* at a week's
 notice, while, at the same time, it will obviate
 the necessity of a *standing* army and of a
 great *permanent expence*, and will prevent
 the Executive Government from acquiring a
 patronage inconsistent with the principles
 of Republican Government, and dangerous
 to political and civil liberty.

I confess, moreover, that there is ano-
 ther class of men, whom you would mortally
 offend by making a peace that should be
 honourable to America: I mean, the *haters*
of freedom. I do not mean
 This moment has arrived the
Courier newspaper with news of the
 PEACE.—I do not know how to ex-
 press the pleasure I feel at this news, or
 the gratitude, which, *for this act*, I, in
 common with my countrymen, owe to your
 Lordship and your colleagues. Far be it
 from me to rejoice at what the *Times*
 calls the *disgrace of the navy of England*
 and the *humiliation of the Crown*; but
 being fully convinced, the longer the war
 had continued, the more disgraceful and
 dangerous would have been the result, I
 do most sincerely rejoice at this auspicious
 event, and certainly not the less on account
 of its being calculated to baffle the views
 of that hypocritical faction, who have still
 the impudence to call themselves *Whigs*.

I am, &c. &c.

WM. COBBETT,

Botley, 28th Dec. 1814.

FRANCE.—Although the affairs of France may have become less interesting than they were previous to the fall of Napoleon, it ought not to be forgotten, that she is still a mighty nation; that she possesses immense resources, capable of enabling her to command respect; that her people enjoy greater freedom than they did under any of her former Kings: and that the long war from which she has just emerged, and which has brought so many calamities on other States, has created in her so efficient a spirit of industry, that she can supply herself with almost every necessary article, equally well manufactured, and at as low a rate, as other nations on which she used to depend for supplies. The envy which this prosperous state of things has excited, particularly in this country, has led our base and corrupt press to say all manner of abusive things of the people of France, to reprobate the measures of the new Government, and to foretell the most fearful consequences and frightful convulsions as the result of these measures. Were we to credit the tenth part of what has lately been put forth in our newspapers, about the *convulsed* and *fermented* state of the public mind in France, we might be preparing ourselves to witness the revival, almost every hour, of those dreadful and sanguinary scenes that disgraced the early part of the Revolution.—Present appearances do not lead me to think there is any cause for these apprehensions; nor does it appear that a change more favourable to liberty is likely soon to take place in France. All the clamour and expectation that has been excited on these topics seem to have originated from mere envy. The renewal of the intercourse with the Continent was looked to as an event that would revive our drooping manufactures, and give life and vigour to our almost expiring commerce. But these hopes have proved fallacious, and every day furnishes us with fresh proofs, that the French people consider themselves not only independent of our manufactures, but able to rival us in the different markets of Germany, where nothing but British goods were formerly in request. The former of these facts is established by the testimony of every Englishman who has been in France since the return of peace; and the latter is rendered indisputable by the following official document recently published by the Chamber of Rouen:—

Copy of a Letter from the Director General of Agriculture, Commerce, Arts, and Manufactures, to the Chamber of Commerce of Rouen.

GENTLEMEN,—I have required of the Consuls of his Majesty in foreign countries to acquaint me with the situation of our commerce in the places of their residence.—The information I have already received from the North is satisfactory, and it seems that our trade and industry are fitly appreciated.—In the different markets of Germany our manufactures, and particularly those of cotton, have been in great demand this year, and have been *preferred to those of England*.—This preference conceded by strangers to the produce of our industry ought to be considered as an important victory gained over our rivals in trade. It proves the rapid progress of our manufacturers, and will no doubt be a new ground of encouragement to those who engage in them. They will perceive that, to preserve this superiority, it will be convenient to improve in the quality, and to reduce the prices.—The Consul General of France in Denmark, informs me that little of our merchandize has been sent thither this year, and that our cottons, with the exception of shawls, of which there has been a considerable sale, are very little known in that country.—Although this commodity should be liable to a custom-house duty of 30 per cent. he thinks that if our travelling merchants should make known in the country the new articles manufactured, the taste would be soon adopted, and that they would not regret the trouble they should take in exhibiting samples of the several varieties.—I have thought it might be useful to transmit you this intelligence, that you may disclose it to the commerce of your town, which will perhaps induce the dealers to increase their stock, and in a suitable proportion to augment their exports.—The Director General, Counsellor of State —(Signed)—BECQUEY.—A true Copy—RIVEX.

To the calumny of those who represent France as having been *utterly ruined* by the Emperor Napoleon, the above document is a sufficient reply. It is indeed a pretty clear proof that he must have left it in a flourishing condition, when we hear these unprincipled revilers, although they have got the ports of the Continent open, complaining of the stagnation of trade, and venting all their spleen against

France, which they would see beggared and ruined a thousand times over, even by a Bonaparte, rather than yield a part of that commerce which this country has so long arrogated as its exclusive right.—It is France these sycophants have always hated, and not her rulers.—Napoleon, it is true, was *personally* held up as the cause of their hatred; but this was a mask to cover their enmity against the measures he was pursuing to render France what she now is—our successful and powerful rival in commerce and manufactures. This was the true secret of the hostility against the French Emperor. He was the *ostensible* cause. The *real* cause was the rivalry he was creating, and that cause exists at this moment in as full vigour, though it shews itself with some shades of difference. It was felt that it would have been invidious to *censure* the conduct of a King, whose restoration they had hailed with so much rapture. But they would be no way displeased to see all France reduced to a state of anarchy and confusion, sufficient to disqualify her from cultivating her soil, improving her manufactures, and extending her commerce.—This envy, and spite, and malice, never had any other source than the rising greatness of France. Our cunning and corrupt press have always been extremely careful to keep this fact in the back ground; and, instead of attributing the obstructions that now exist to our trade and commerce, to the true cause—the immense load of taxes, and the consequent high price of labour, they have constantly misled the public by idle pretences about the tyranny and ambition of the French rulers, to which they falsely ascribed those difficulties that every where counteract the commercial enterprise of our merchants. This deception is still carried on. It may have the desired effect for a time; but it is scarcely possible, now that the channels of accurate information, and the intercourse with the Continent, is, to all appearance, about to be cleared of the rubbish which so long choaked them, that the people of this country can remain long in their present state of blindness.

UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD.

SIR,—With respect to the city prison at Oxford, on which there are some remarks in your last Register, it may be said, and said with great truth, that that build-

ing was never designed for a receptacle of sick persons, but only as a prison and a house of correction; and that it is not, in its establishment, or in any other way, fit for an hospital. Ill adapted as this prison is to receive sick persons, it seems cruel to commit women to it, who, having been guilty of no other offence than that of prostitution, at the time of their commitment are known to be diseased, and who, indeed, have sometimes been apprehended on that very account. Surely, some other place should be found for such women, where they might receive that accommodation which their disease may require. They should not be confined in a building, where an unavoidable exposure to cold and damp prevents the proper and safe operation of the only medicine known to effect a certain cure of their complaint; and consequently, where there is a probability that they will be discharged in a worse state than when admitted. Attention and regard to the health of the students should induce the officers of the University to use their best endeavours to check a disease, which in this place is very common, and of which the ruinous consequences are severely felt. In the sister University, when information is received by the proctors of a woman being ill, inquiry is immediately made into the circumstances of the case; and if the charge be true, she is not unfeelingly committed to a damp and cold prison, but sent to an infirmary and cured. This method has been found, by experience, to be the best security of the health of the students; for as no severity is exercised against the woman, they feel no reluctance to lay the information. Hence it is, that, in Cambridge, the disease alluded to is now never known to rage to any extent; an advantage, which, by parents and all persons interested in the welfare of young men, must be duly appreciated. A Ward for venereal patients in the Radcliffe Infirmary, where there is sufficient room for the purpose, would be a most useful and charitable institution. The University would receive much benefit from it, and would doubtless contribute very largely from their fund to effect so humane a purpose. It might otherwise be supported by private subscription; by a subscription separate and distinct from that which is appropriated to support the other objects of the charity, and which there is little doubt would be an ample one. Should any unforeseen circumstances prevent the execution of this plan, a house might be taken

for the purpose in Oxford, or its environs, subject to the controul and inspection of the Vice-Chancellor, and other officers. The expense of this establishment would not be so great but that a sufficient sum might be raised by private subscription, if unfortunately the University (which can scarcely be supposed) should not think proper to support a plan in which the health and constitution of the younger students and inhabitants of Oxford are so intimately concerned. Whatever may be the immediate event, it is hoped that the discussion of this business will be ultimately productive of much good; that the health of the students will be less exposed to danger; and that recourse will no longer be had to a cruel and useless severity, as repugnant to our feelings, as it has been found inefficient in producing its intended effects.

Oxford, Dec. 26, 1814.

ON RELIGIOUS PERSECUTION.

LETTER III.

It is an execrable heresy and crime to endeavour to compel by force, by blows, and by imprisonment, those who cannot be convinced by reason.

ST. ATHANASIUS, *Lib. I.*

SIR,—HUME says, that “the practice of persecution is the scandal of all religion; and the theological animosity, so fierce and violent, far from being an argument of men’s conviction in their opposing tenets, is a certain proof of the contrary; and they have never reached any serious persuasion with regard to these remote and sublime subjects.—Even those who are the most impatient of contradiction in other controversies, are mild and moderate in comparison of polemical divines; and wherever a man’s knowledge and experience give him a perfect conviction of his own opinion, he regards with contempt, rather than anger, the opposition and mistakes of others.”—This sentiment, I think, will bear the test of strict examination, and be found to tally with the observation and experience of all those who have *impartially* noticed the history of religious persecution, both in past and present times. They will be compelled to acknowledge, that the annals of the world do not present us with examples of domestic strife, or political controversy, ever being carried to that degree of virulent acrimony, and unrelenting implacability, with which religious disputes and persecutions have been conducted, whenever the passions of infuriated bigots, or infatuated fanatics, have

been set on fire, and roused to action, by their tenets being disrespected or denied. It must also be readily confessed, that those whose opinions are the result of mature deliberation, after having exercised the most serious reflection and critical inquiry on the notions they have adopted, so as to give them a decided confidence in their mind that they are right, seldom or ever conduct themselves in that *violent* and unbecoming manner towards those who differ from them in speculative points, as the superficial zealot, when the system he has been nursed in is attacked, or, as the deluded enthusiast, when the new doctrine is rejected which he has just received, without examination, from some experienced adept in the Trade of Preaching. The industrious searcher after truth knows the pains and difficulty of acquiring it, and can make allowance for the ignorance and prejudices of others, while they who take every thing for granted, and pin their faith implicitly to the sleeve of others, wonder that every body cannot plainly see the merits of what *they* have so easily embraced.

But perhaps I may be told, that whatever may be urged in favour of toleration, and against persecution upon broad principles, it will by no means quadrate with the narrow scale called *POLICY*, by which the *servants* of the public, in their great wisdom, think fit to rule their *masters*. I shall be informed, that the national worship ought always to be supported; that the Christian is a part of the common law of this land, and is carefully protected by the statutes of the realm: consequently, that no person should be suffered to appugn it. This mode of argument, however ridiculous, is by no means uncommon; nay, it is constantly resorted to by weak and ignorant persons, who do not possess sufficient ingenuity to defend our faith against the aspersions of infidels. “Well,” they’ll exclaim, “if our religion is a *human* institution, and fraught with absurdities, it is nevertheless the religion of our fathers, established according to law, the safest to follow, the most generally respected, the easiest road to preferment; it would be dangerous to alter it; and, therefore, it ought not to be abused.” This doctrine may suit the taste of tyrants and slavish formalists, but it can never meet the approbation of impartial reason, nor accord with the interests of society—

“Should we a parent’s faults adore.”

“And err because our fathers err’d before.”

CHURCHILL.

If we sanction a principle like this, there is an end to all improvement; every invention or discovery, for the benefit of mankind, would be discouraged; and the intellectual faculty, the most glorious ornament with which NATURE has endowed man, would be of little use if Priests and Despots were to accomplish their desire in thus attempting to cramp its exertions.

If we admit for one moment so arbitrary a mode of reasoning, we must approve the persecution of the celebrated *Galileo*, who, in consequence of his assertion concerning the earth's motion, was cited to appear before the *Inquisition* at Rome, charged with heresy for maintaining propositions contrary to the astronomical system of the sacred Scripture, thrown into their dungeon for two years, and only escaped with his life by compliance with their decree in abjuring what he believed to be true, promising to perform the penance enjoined as an atonement for his errors, and repeating the seven penitential psalms every week for three years. Thus we see, that what is now universally adopted, was once, as *Helvetius* observes of most new truths, "treated as an error, cited as a paradox, and rejected without being understood." How cautious ought this to make us of indulging such a captious and intolerant disposition, or a method or argument so extremely fallacious; one, indeed, which would oblige us to condemn our blessed Saviour as an inflammatory demagogue, who broached doctrines contrary to the State religion of his country, and applaud the Jews for justly executing him as an enthusiastic heretic, whose conduct was calculated to disturb the public peace, subvert Judaism, and ruin the priests by bringing their trade into disrepute. It would lead us to praise every Heathen Government who had persecuted the first propagators of Christianity, to admire *Nero*, and to reprobate *St. Paul*.—How amiable, compared to such a temper, was the disposition of *Ethelbert*, King of Kent, during the Saxon Heptarchy, when Pope *Gregory* the First sent the Monk *Austin*, afterwards called *St. Austin*, or *Augustin*, with his 40 missionaries to plant the Gospel in this country. That Prince, though an idolator, went out to meet them with the greatest courtesy, sat in the open air to hear their leader preach, and after listening to them attentively, made the following handsome and liberal reply, which we have preserved by the venerable *Bede*:—"Your proposals

"are noble, your promises inviting; but I cannot resolve upon quitting the religion of my ancestors, for one that appears to me supported only by the testimony of persons that are entire strangers to me. However, since, as I perceive, you have taken a long journey on purpose to impart to us what you deem of most importance and valuable, you shall not be sent away without some satisfaction. I will take care that you are treated civilly in my dominions, and supplied with all things necessary and convenient; and if any of my subjects, convinced by what you shall say to them, desire to embrace your religion, I shall not be against it."

In fact, the enemies of toleration and free discussion have no solid ground to stand upon; for, if they act consistent to their principles, they must, in reading history, find fault with *Ethelbert* for his mildness, and deprecate the Christians for coming to interfere with our then peaceable heathen worship. When Catholicism became firmly established, they must then approve of their intolerance towards those whom we now revere for lighting the candle of reformation in a dark age, and those who ultimately accomplished it, to the destruction of the former system. They must give their approbation to the tragedies of *Smithfield*, and deny their commiseration to the Protestant Martyrs. They must equally venerate the murderers of *Socrates*, *Vanini*, and *Servetus*. When they turn over the pages of history, and find the reformed system established by law, they must then view with admiration the disgraceful pains and penalties which the mild and amiable Protestants, in their turn, inflicted on the Catholics, and those poor deluded creatures who would fain presume to reform still further the Reformed Church, to improve upon the improved system, and, in short, who have had the impudence, at last, to refuse conformity to all the sublime and useful rites and ceremonies of the Church of England. I will not bring them to the present time, lest they should blame themselves for sending Ministers to India to preach the Gospel, and censure the Blacks for not rejecting the intruders; because it might give some sceptic an opportunity of asking me whether the Blacks were made on purpose to be damned, if they never had an opportunity of believing or rejecting our Revelation? And if so, how I could reconcile it with some of the

attributes which Christians generally give their God? Or, whether I thought a system, which has split people into a thousand sects, embroiled them in doctrinal controversies, divided the father from the son, and the husband from the wife, would be more beneficial to them than the one in which they are at present all agreed? Such questions, I confess, would puzzle me exceedingly to answer in a *popular* manner. I shall say nothing, therefore, here that might lead to their discussion.

But, after all, there is no set of people against whom the Government of this country are so severe, as those wretched persons who have been so unfortunate as to have had their hearts hardened by God, or their understandings perverted by the Devil, as, the Scriptures tell us, was the case sometimes in days of old, which has rendered them incapable of duly appreciating the divine truths of our holy religion, and induced them to reject the whole as a human invention, set up to terrify and enslave mankind, and monopolise power and profit; to ridicule the idea of Three Gods, and to acknowledge only one supreme Being, whom they denominate the great Author of Nature. They admit no other Revelation than the volume of the Creation, which they assert speaketh alike to all, and cannot be altered or defaced by man; for no mortal, they say, can darken the sun or the moon, neither can he pluck down the stars. They regulate their conduct by those simple fundamental principles of morals, which all mankind, both individually and collectively, find essential to their happiness, and which experience necessarily deduces from the order of the universe, and the physical constitution of man. They erroneously conceive that Christian morality is rendered almost, if not quite, nugatory, by, what they term, the mass of rubbish with which it is encumbered; assigning as a chief ground of their disbelief, that they deem it a libel upon the Almighty to represent him as revealing his will in so strange and obscure a manner; that those for whom it was intended cannot comprehend it, and quarrel with each other about the construction of it; that he should suffer it to be framed in so elastic and dubious a phraseology, that interested knaves may stretch and interpret it to answer their own purposes; that he should permit it to be handed about, for so many ages, in manuscript, liable to all the blunders of careless or ignorant scribes,

subject to all the variations of language, diversity of idiom, mis-translation, or wilful interpolation; and yet make implicit faith in it indispensable to the salvation of his creatures, notwithstanding so many obstacles to perplex and embarrass them.

I have thus, for the sake of candour, endeavoured to give a faint outline of the opinions entertained by those mistaken men; but have forgotten to say, at the outset, that they agree with us in all the grandest titles or qualities which we give to the Deity. They will not, however, allow, that the character of the God of the Jews, whom they seem to reflect upon with horror, and to consider the creature of imagination, can be at all consistent with the sublime perfections of the Supreme Being, because they have no other evidence of his existence than what they term the Voice of Nature. I am aware, that many religious people dwell with rapture on the wonders of the universe as a corroborative proof of the being, wisdom, and goodness of its Grand Architect, and of the genuineness and authenticity of the Bible; yet there are other pious and learned Christians who contend, that when man gives up Divine Revelation as a fable, he can have no certain or infallible demonstration that there exists an all-just, merciful, wise, and powerful God; to which opinion I must confess myself a convert.

This numerous body of people are called Theists, or Deists, from their believing in only one God; and, however wrong I may consider them, I am so anxious for the honour of pure and simple Christianity, that I shall consider it my duty to defend them from persecution; and, I hope (God willing) in my subsequent letters, by an appeal to the earliest Fathers of the Church, and the most respectable Ecclesiastical Historians, such as Tillmont, Dupin, and Mosheim, to shew how grossly inconsistent it is for us to molest or interfere with them on account of opinions which they cannot help entertaining.—Your's, &c.

London, Dec. 28. ERASMUS PERKINS.

PROPERTY TAX.—WESTMINSTER MEETING.—The country has lately been so much occupied with Meetings about the Repeal of the Property Tax, that they have forgot almost every thing else. They seem to think that this is the only obnoxious burden, the only oppressive exaction, of which they have a right to complain, and that deliverance from it

will be a full release from all their sorrows. It remained for the Inhabitants of Westminster, and their undaunted and virtuous Representative Sir Francis Burdett, to dispel this delusion. At a Public Meeting, held in Palace-yard, on Thursday last, the Income Tax, as it is called, was clearly shewn to be only a small part of the grievance of which the public had to complain. For reasons stated in Sir Francis Burdett's Letter, (which, with a copy of the Resolutions and Petition adopted at the Meeting, I have given below) the worthy Baronet could not give his personal attendance; but the distinct, the fearless, and the convincing manner in which he has pointed out, in that letter, the extent of the evil, and opened the eyes of the public to their true situation, renders his absence less a matter of regret than it would otherwise have been. The worthy Major Cartwright too, who has literally grown grey in the cause of Freedom, was found at his post, endeavouring, with all the zeal and energy for which he is so much characterised, to rouse the nation from its torpid state, and make them acquainted with the dreadful situation into which they had been plunged by the tools of corruption. —This staunch Veteran, as appears from the newspaper report, delivered himself to the effect following:—"He apprehended that the cessation of the American war would secure the discontinuance of the tax on property, at least at its present amount. It was not, however, the question as to its amount, or whether the percentage should be increased or diminished, but it was the spirit and character of the imposition which ought chiefly to attract their consideration. The lion's whelp might be a harmless plaything at first, but if suffered to grow, would finally prove himself to be a lion. The purpose for which they were then assembled was threefold: first, to consider of the *general state of the national taxation*; secondly, of the property tax in particular; and, thirdly, with respect to the proceedings which it was incumbent in them to adopt on this occasion. They ought not to confine themselves to the mere condemnation of a tax which violated property, which oppressed industry, which invaded domestic privacy, and which was, therefore, obviously inconsistent with every principle of English liberty; but they ought to trace this evil to its true source, to shew it in its con-

nection with other public grievances, and to call upon the Legislature for that great and ultimate remedy, which could alone ensure them permanent independence and prosperity. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had, in his place in the House of Commons, not long since broadly intimated his intention of proposing a renewal of this tax. It was for them, therefore, not to criticise any partial defects, or any apparent inequalities, in the principle or operation of such a measure; because the reply of the Chancellor of the Exchequer would certainly be, that he was much obliged to the persons who suggested these objections, he was anxious to supply defects, and to remedy inequalities; and, therefore, by removing, in some degree, their objections, he trusted that he should receive their unanimous approbation. It was their part to proclaim their hostility to the entire scheme, as subversive of their native and hereditary rights.—No doubt such a situation of things might arise, that burthens, otherwise intolerable, would be borne by a great and free country with patience and alacrity; but a tax which was utterly irreconcilable to the spirit of a free Constitution, which was no less severe, and grinding, and oppressive in its administration, than it was inquisitorial and partial in its principle, could be justified in no case, nor under any combination of circumstances. The Chancellor of the Exchequer might, if he pleased, with an insulting sneer observe, that he feared the gentlemen assembled in Palace-yard had not sufficiently taken into their deep consideration the whole state of public affairs, the foreign relations, the financial difficulties of the country. Miscrable, in his opinion, was the fate of a nation, and cheerless its prospects, when a popular meeting should deem it expedient to penetrate the *arcana* of Government, or to busy itself with any other topic than such as belonged to its province—the assertion of its own inalienable and constitutional rights. These rights they were as capable of understanding and valuing as any lawyer at the bar, or any Minister of the Crown. His worthy friend (Mr. Wishart) had truly told them, that two thirds of every man's income were now absorbed by a *variety of taxes* before the property tax came into application; and that this tax,

“applying to the nominal whole, was, in
 “practical effect, a tax not of 10 but of 30
 “per cent. He certainly was not apprehensive that, after the fortunate conclusion of peace with America, the present tax could be any longer continued; but he had his fears that it might be produced in another shape, or in curtailed proportions. He should not be much surprised to see another property tax brought forward, a little property tax, a young cub, which, as he had before observed, might be perfectly innocent in its infant state, but by the time that its claws and teeth should attain their full power, would have grown up into a formidable and ferocious monster, that might devour them and their children. It was their duty, then, to be vigilant at the outset to crush the evil in its birth, and to set an example to other meetings, which might secure co-operation in the salutary work. In the year 1793, in a memorable petition, it was brought home to the House of Commons, that they did not represent the sense, nor express the voice, of the people, purposes which they were instituted to accomplish, and rights to which the Constitution had given every Englishman a claim. What had been the course of public events and of national suffering since the House thought proper to disregard this important demonstration? The Government of that day had plunged us, under the pretence of a short war, into a contest of twenty years duration; and for the sake of interfering in the internal regulation of another kingdom, and of extinguishing opinions which were not acceptable to their taste, had entailed on Great Britain *that tremendous load of taxation under which she was now bending*. When James II. adopted unconstitutional measures of taxation, the nation, almost with one voice stood up against him; yet the country did not then owe a single million, and was now indebted in a thousand. He repeated it to them, *the country now owed a thousand millions*. The condition of France was comparatively happy; she had no such debt; plenty and cultivation reigned over her soil, and the consequence was, that thousands and tens of thousands were repairing to enjoy there what they could not obtain in their native land—an easy and comfortable subsistence. The rich were going to extend their comforts, the poor

“to acquire the means of living at all.
 “This was the state to which the country was now reduced; and to restore it to a better condition, it was first necessary to restore purity to their representative system: without this, future wars and future taxes were in store. Was it possible for them to forget that a British Minister had once entertained the project of imposing a tax on capital, and that the petition of the Westminster electors against it had at least been serviceable in saving the country from that infliction? In reference to the general system of taxation, what could be more obnoxious than the measure for redeeming the land tax. That tax took away one-fifth of the landed property of the country, and had been sold. Four other such operations would comprehend and vest in the Crown the whole landed property in the realm. He had intended to have offered to them several other observations, but the state of the weather and of his own health induced him to abstain. He had only to thank them for the patience with which they had already heard him.”

SIR FRANCIS BURDETT'S LETTER.

Malmsbury Manor, Dec. 28, 1814.

GENTLEMEN,—I am much disappointed at being prevented, by a heavy fall of snow, attending the Meeting of the Electors of Westminster, advertised for the 29th December.

I regret this the more, because, I perceive, by the wording of the Advertisement, that a large and enlightened view of the subject is intended to be taken; one worthy the City in which this Meeting is to be held; not narrowed to the consideration only of an oppressive Tax, but enlarged to a general view of that whole system of Taxation; every stroke of which, like the cat-o'-nine-tails from the backs of our soldiers, brings blood; and which is not more galling in the mode and severity of its correction, than in its profligate, corrupt, and wasteful expenditure. In fact, the Income or Property Tax has no title to that pre-eminence in infamy, it appears in public detestation to possess, nor is it a whit more arbitrary in its execution, cruel in its operation, or ruinous in its consequences, or unconstitutional in its principles, than the Excise, or many other summary, arbitrary, and unconstitutional jurisdictions, established by Act of Parliament, and rooting out the common law of the land; that law which my Lord Coke truly says is the best inheritance of the subject: besides the torture of our soldiers, I might add the brutal horrors of the impress, the inhospitable and tyrannical act against Foreigners, with a long string of *et ceteras*, too numerous to insert here, and too palpable to be denied.

The enlightened and patriotic Electors of Westminster, know full well, that these are only a few of the bitter fruits of that baleful tree, which nourisheth its roots in that hot bed of corruption from whence it sprung. St. Stephen's Chapel; and though it has struck deep in that consecrated soil, we are instructed by the highest

authority how to judge it, and by the same authority how to deal with it.

That we may be able to deal with it accordingly, before the whole property of the country is absorbed by Government, before the nation is plunged into fresh wars against human liberty, and before the system of dragooning introduced during the last, is irremovably established, is the fervent prayer of, Gentlemen, your ever grateful, sincere, and attached Servant.

F. BURDETT.

THE RESOLUTIONS.

Resolved,—That an apprehension being entertained that, on the expiration of the present Property Tax, a new one on the same obnoxious model, (although perhaps for, at first, a less per centage) is intended to be introduced, it is in the opinion of this Meeting the bounden duty of every good Citizen to protest against any such intended measure, and to endeavour to prevent it by all Constitutional means.

That, in the decayed condition of the National Representation, as set forth in a Petition entered in the Journals of the Commons House on the 7th day of May, 1793, it cannot be maintained, that any part of the present National Taxation had the People's consent in the manner required by the Constitution; which manner is essential to Public Liberty, and to the security of Property.

That the inquisitorial, arbitrary, vexatious and cruel mode in which the Property Tax is carried into execution, are but natural consequences of the People having ceased to be respected; or to hold the guardianship of their own Liberty and Property; because of having lost the sacred Right of TAXING THEMSELVES through real Representatives.

That, although truly grateful to those who have obtained us the blessings of complete Peace, and, of course, a discontinuance of the present Property Tax, a Petition be presented to the House of Commons, that no other Tax, on the same exceptionable model, may on any account be made to succeed the said present unconstitutional Tax.

That a Petition founded on the foregoing Resolutions be now read.

That the Petition now read be adopted as the Petition of the Inhabitant Householdors of the City and Liberties of Westminster; and signed on their behalf by the High Bailiff and twelve Householdors, and presented to the House of Commons by our Representative Sir Francis Burdett, Bart. and that he be instructed to support the same.

That this Meeting do most cordially agree with the City of London, in strongly recommending, that similar Meetings be held, in every County, City, Town and Parish, throughout the Kingdom.

That our Thanks are eminently due, and hereby given to our Representative Sir Francis Burdett, Bart. for his dignified assertion on all occasions of the Rights and Liberties of his Country; fully assured that when that Country shall generally listen to his patriotic voice, those Rights and Liberties will be speedily restored.

That our Thanks are also hereby given to our persecuted Representative Lord Cochrane, for his manly exertions in favour of the Rights of the People; and that we look forward, with satisfaction, to the time when his emancipation from

a portion of his cruel and unjust sufferings, will enable him to renew those exertions.

That Arthur Morris, Esq. High Bailiff merits our particular Thanks for his uniform attention to the wishes of the Inhabitants, and his impartial conduct in the Chair.

PETITION.

To the HONOURABLE the COMMONS of the UNITED KINGDOM of GREAT BRITAIN and IRELAND, in Parliament assembled,

THE PETITION OF THE INHABITANT HOUSEHOLDER Of the City and Liberties of Westminster.

SHEWETH,—That in their sufferings and vexations under the Property Tax, and the modes of its execution, your Petitioners have been forcibly drawn to a contemplation of the State of the National Taxation in general; as well as to the facts recorded in a Petition entered on your Journals on the 17th day of May, 1793.

Seeing those facts, it cannot be maintained that any Taxes are imposed with consent of the People of this Kingdom in the manner which by the Constitution of our Country is indispensably required.

The Nation's long and quiet submission to the Property Tax in particular, must be attributed to an unwillingness to embarrass the Executive Government while engaged in a War of uncommon extent and difficulty: Peace being, however, now completely restored, every pretext for a continuance of that Tax is wholly removed.

But having been alarmed by an apprehension, that when the present Ten per Cent. Property Tax shall in April next have expired, Ministers mean to propose a new Tax on the same model, although in a lighter proportion to Property, your Petitioners are induced to state their objections to several of the features of the present Tax.

1st. The operation of the Tax is necessarily inquisitorial; frequently causing distressing, cruel, or ruinous exposures of private affairs.

2d. The powers of the Commissioners are offensively arbitrary.

3d. The operation of the Tax is oppressive, vexatious, unequal, and degrading.

4th. The granting of this Tax for an indefinite term, a term which has already extended to several years, unconstitutionally abandoned the controul which, by the Constitution, Parliament is bound to hold over the revenue of the Executive Magistrate.

5th. But, above all, in consequence of various corruptions which have in effect annihilated the National Representation, the Tax neither had, nor could have had, the People's consent; and it is written in the law of Nature, as an eternal truth, that a Nation who Tax themselves, either in person or by real Representatives, are alone Free; but a people who are otherwise Taxed are not Free.

Your Petitioners, therefore, pray, that when the Statute which established the present Property Tax shall, in April next, expire, no other Statute, and no other Tax, on the same model, may be passed or imposed; and that your Honourable House will also take into its early consideration, what means ought to be adopted for rendering the National Taxation in general truly Constitutional and consistent with the English Liberties.

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